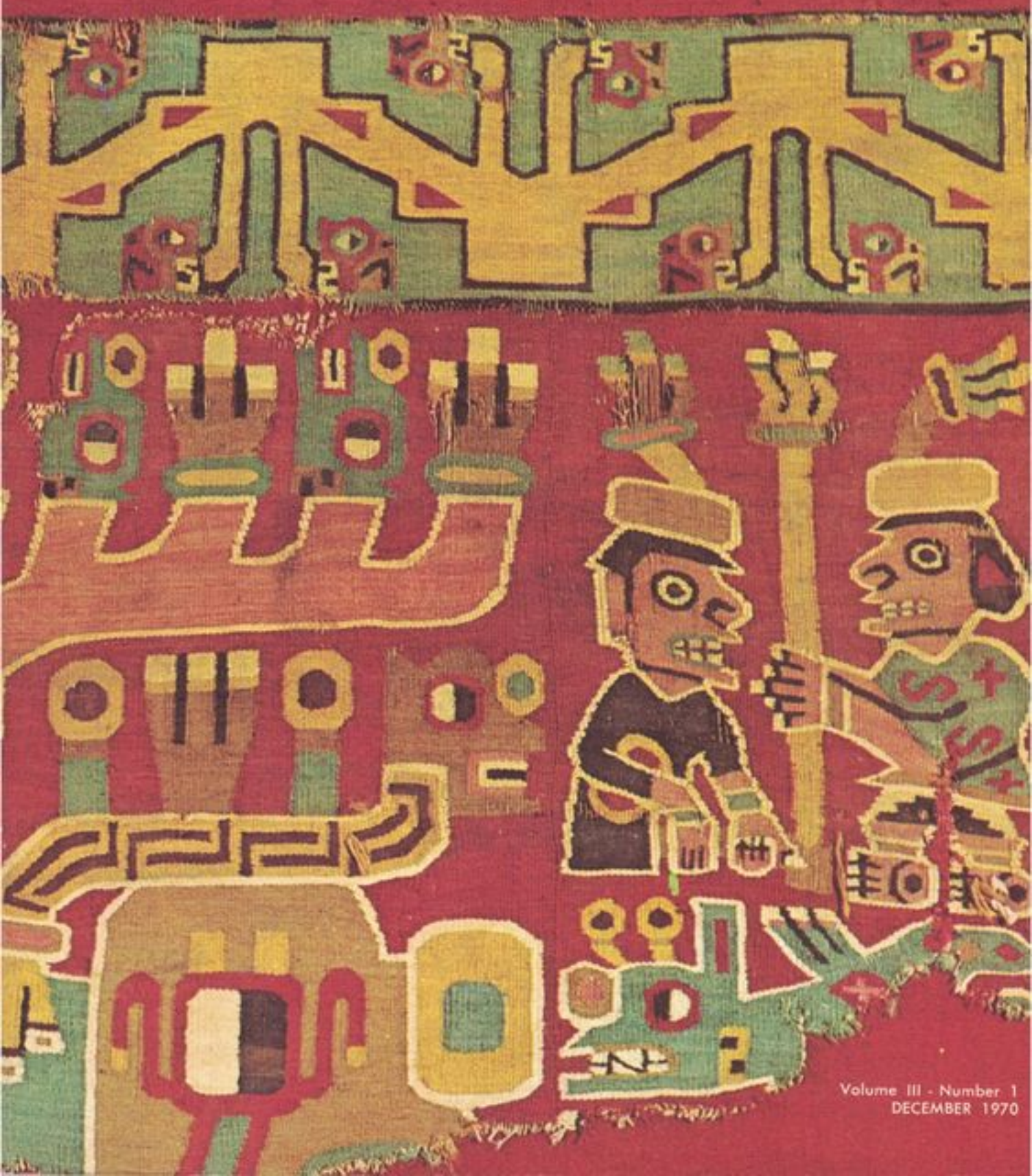
TEXTILE MUSEUM JOURNAL



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CHINESE INFLUENCE IN COLONIAL PERUVIAN TAPESTRIES

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Indian weavers in Peru, during the Spanish Colonial Period, produced some magnificent tapestries, of which the The Textile Museum of Washington, D. C., has several notable examples.[1] Although the basic techniques for making them were inherited from before the Conquest, in most cases their patterns differed completely from those of Ancient Peru. In fact, one of the most appealing features of these tapestries is the way in which their makers assembled odd mixtures of exotic animals, birds, and flowers, drawn from many lands and cultures. Combining these in carefully balanced compositions, they still managed to preserve their liveliness, so the modern viewer is attracted by the animation of the figures as well as the brilliant coloring, and often by a subtle humor, too. In this article, we shall consider primarily a few Chinese elements that appear in a particular set of these tapestries, and try to determine the ways in which they happened to reach Peru.

The Delayed Recognition of Colonial Peruvian Tapestries

Toward the end of the 19th century, collectors and students of textiles began to take interest in a small group of tapestries that appeared to be related because of technical and stylistic resemblances. But, for a long time, the complex patterns on these confused the experts and provoked widely diverse theories regarding their source. Some called them "Indo-Portuguese" and ascribed them to Goa; others labeled them "Spanish," "Coptic," or even "German."[2] The American scholar-collector Denman Ross had already begun to realize their true provenance when, in 1913, an example in England, that had been purchased in Cuzco, was published as undoubtedly Peruvian.[3] Finally, by 1925, enough evidence had accumulated so that Alfred Kendrick of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, could convincingly demonstrate that all the known examples of this type must have been produced in Colonial Peru, probably in the 17th century.[4]

Kendrick was also the first writer to announce that some of these tapestries had Chinese elements in their patterns. He pointed out that the Oriental influence was particularly apparent on a panel, cut from a much larger piece, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 1),[5] and on a splendid hanging featuring "The Pelican in her Piety" (Fig. 2 and cover). At that time, the latter belonged to the Kelekian Collection, in Paris; now it is a treasured possession of the Textile Museum.[6]

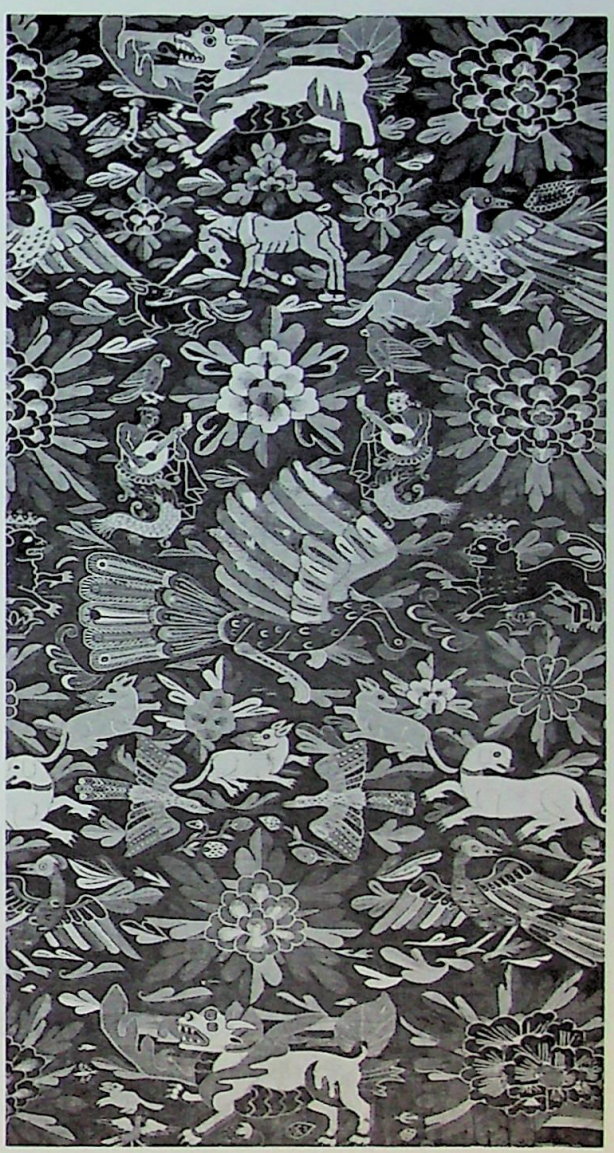

Fig. 1 *Panel from a Colonial Peruvian Textile, XVIIth Century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London*

He would doubtless have listed two more, closely related textiles, if he had known them. One of these is a huge tapestry, with a highly concentric pattern and rich borders, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 3).[7] The second is a section of a tapes-

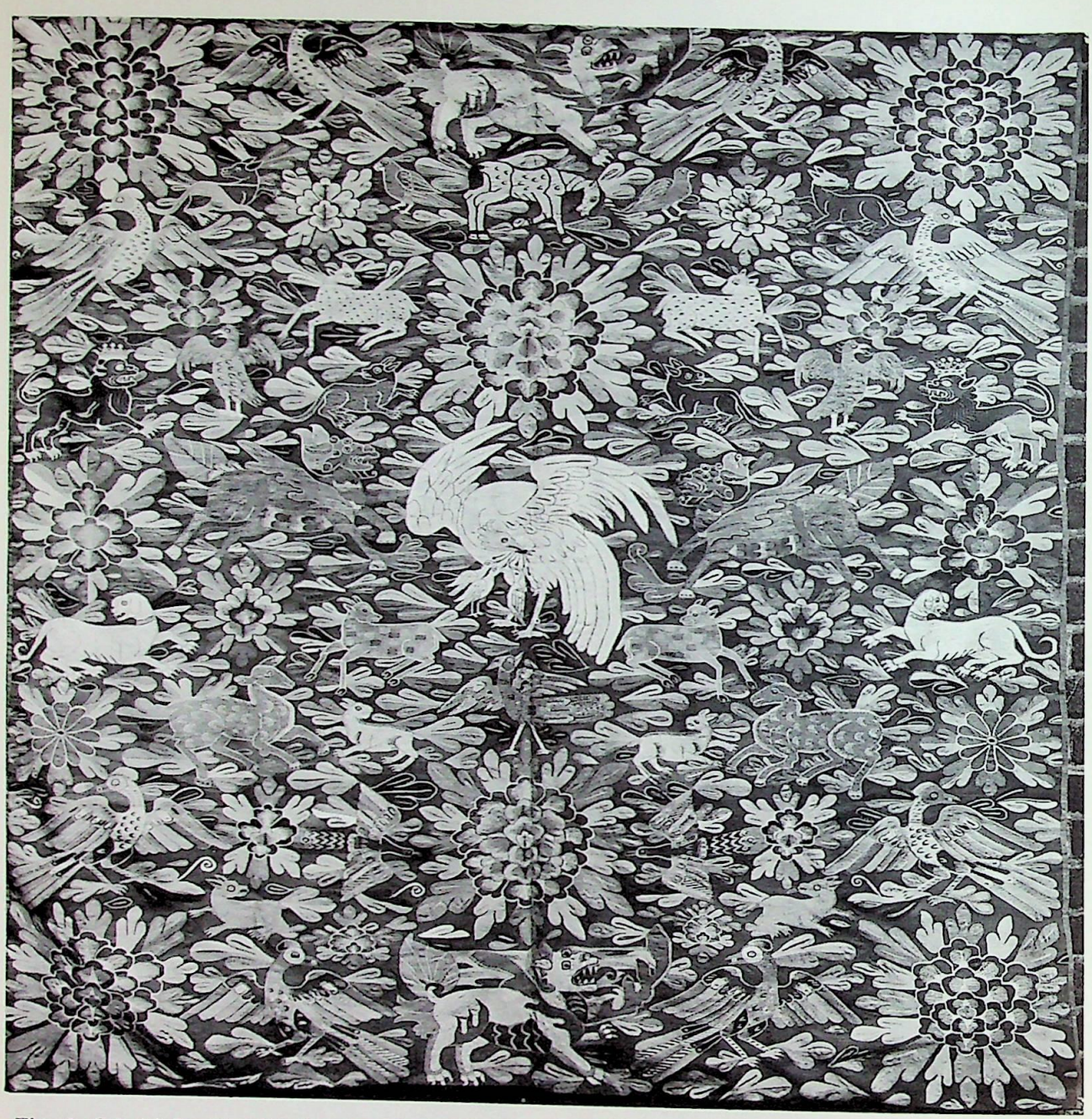

Fig. 2 *Colonial Peruvian Hanging, formerly in the Kelekian Collection, XVIIth Century. Textile Museum*

try, cut out of a larger one with an even more markedly concentric pattern, in the Textile Museum (Fig. 4).[8] These four notable examples will furnish the chief subjects for our study.

Apparently they were not unique, for the Textile Museum has two small fragments showing parts of another pelican pattern (placed at the bottom of the original piece, rather than in its center); while the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has two scraps apparently from separate tapestries of the same general family.

All of these specimens were woven in the same technique, using similar materials, with the same color schemes and dyes, while their patterns not only are closely related but often have identical details. They must have come from one workshop *(obraje)*, and were probably designed by a single hand.[9] In any case, they form an easily distinguishable sub-group within the larger body of Colonial Peruvian tapestries.

As evidence of the "Chinoiserie" which he had sensed in these, Kendrick particularly cited the

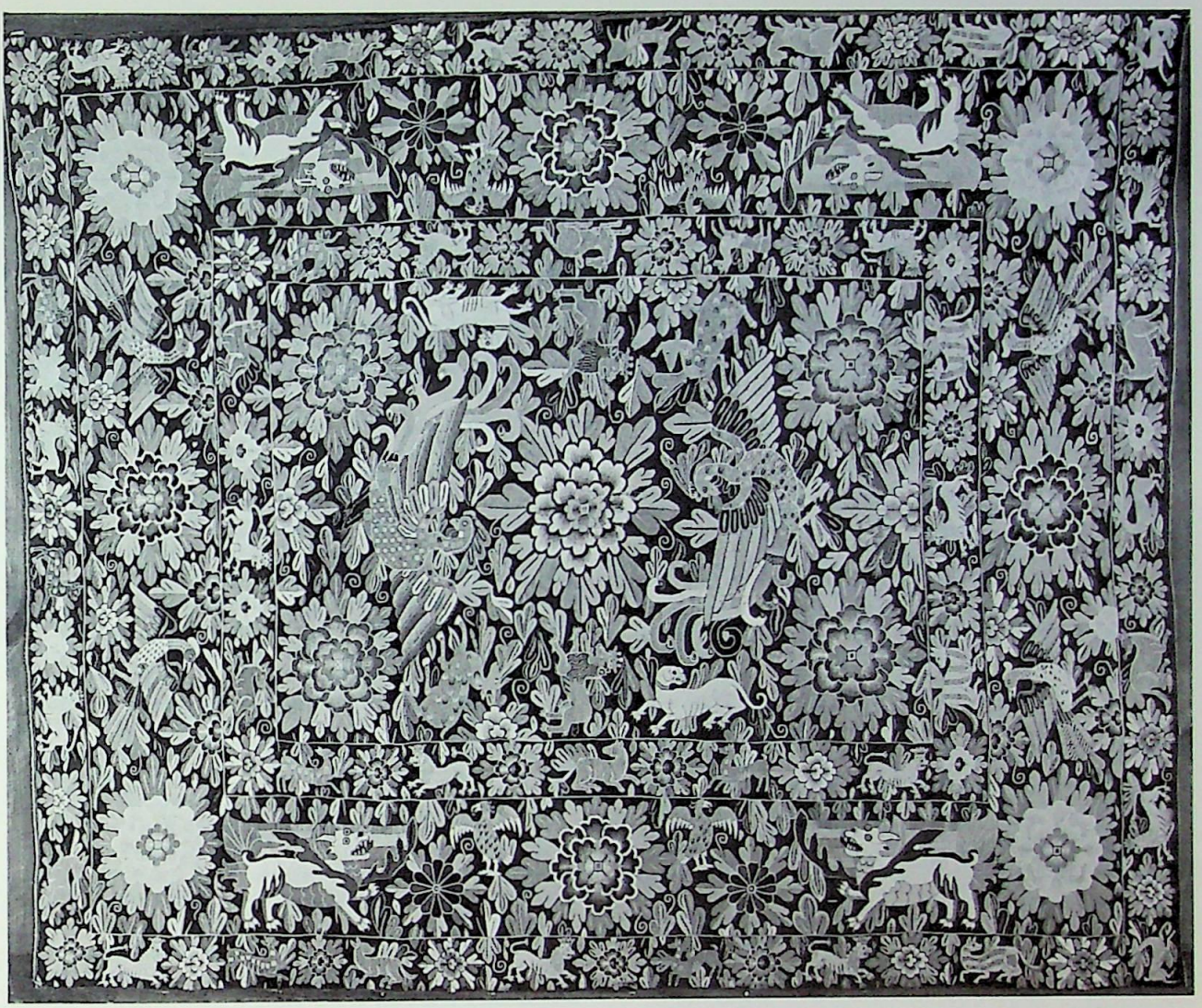

Fig. 3 *Colonial Peruvian Tapestry, XVIIth Century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

white animal at the top and bottom of the South Kensington panel. (This also appears at the top and bottom of the Pelican hanging; again, in the middle border of the Boston example; and finally—in reverse stance—at the top and bottom of the Textile Museum's smaller piece. Thus, it presents a constantly recurring theme within the group.) He first dubbed this creature "the mythical lion of Chinese Art," then, in a later publication, he called it "the Chinese unicorn *(ch'i-lin)*."[10] Both names were wrong; but at least he realized it was a typically Chinese beast. He also described as "Chinese" a creature of somewhat similar aspect, shown on either side of the "Pelican," at the center of the second example, calling it "the *lung-ma*, or dragon horse." Actually, this is no *lung ma*, and—as we shall see—it cannot have been taken directly from any animal in the Old Chinese tradition.[11] One must distinguish carefully between direct copying of a Chinese theme, as in the case of the first animal, and mere attempts at working "in a Chinese manner," as in the second. Strictly speaking, only the latter should be called Chinoiserie.

Lastly, Kendrick recognized "a suggestion of Chinese influence" in the bird at the center of the South Kensington panel, as well as in the large blooms (found on all four examples). The latter are—as he tentatively guessed—stylized peonies, typically Chinese flowers.

Research on the Colonial Peruvian tapestries was carried still further by Nathalie Zimmern of the Brooklyn Museum. In 1943, she published a detailed study of these, emphasizing the historical and cultural milieu in which they were produced, and broadening the chronology.[12] In the course of her investigations for this, she located some fifty-seven

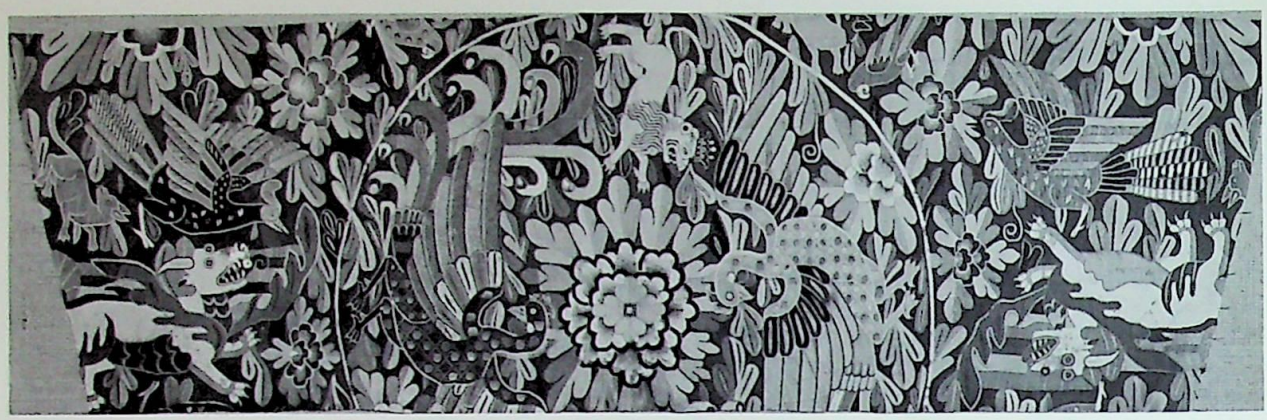

Fig. 4 *Panel from a Colonial Peruvian Textile, XVIIth Century. Textile Museum*

examples in North American and European collections, many of which had long been hidden under attributions falsely ascribing them to Europe or the Near East.[13] Among these, our particular set still stood out as a separate group. She, too, stressed the presence of Chinese elements in them; although, misled by Kendrick, she misnamed the animals and some of the birds.

In attempting to account for the highly eclectic pattern on these textiles, with details borrowed from East and West, Kendrick had stated that the Spaniards were obviously the intermediaries. Since they were forced to approach Asia by a westerly route, via the Americas and the Philippines,[14] he explained, their American possessions had constituted a natural "half-way house," open to influences coming from both directions.

Mrs. Zimmern discussed still further the question of the trade route from China to the New World, by way of Manila, which provided the means for transmission of Oriental ideas and motifs to Peru. However, she missed some significant points, so we shall review it once more.

The Silk Trade from China to the New World, via Manila[15]

The Spaniards began their conquest of the Philippines in 1565, some fifty-three years after the discovery of these islands, and that Spring they sent back to Acapulco, in Mexico, the first of a series of galleons bearing products of the East.[16] This initiated a tradition of annual voyages to Mexico and back, which continued on for two centuries and a half—from 1565 to 1815.

After the founding of Manila, seven years later, the annual ship—or ships, as two or more often sailed together—became known in the New World as "The Manila Galleon," or "The China Ship." The latter term arose because of the customary cargo; for these vessels were laden primarily with goods from China, especially silks. Silk fabrics were light, and they could be tightly rolled or folded to take up the minimum space, so that a very large quantity of them, worth thousands of silver dollars, could be carried on one or two galleons.[17]

This trade in silks sprang up because, in the same year that Manila was founded, one of the Governor's warships happened to rescue the crew of a large merchant-junk that it found sinking in the waters off Mindanao, and in the following year (1572) the Chinese traders, in gratitude, returned to Manila, bringing other merchants from their homeland with rich cargoes of silks, as well as porcelains and other products of Southeast China. Accordingly, the galleons of 1573 carried to Acapulco, among other things, 712 pieces of Chinese silk, and 22,300 pieces of porcelain.[18]

By 1576, the trade with China was firmly established, and silk was already its chief commodity. Thus the Manila Galleons very early became primarily silk ships. This product—in every stage of manufacture: from silk threads and skeins of raw silk to rich brocades; and of every variety of technique and pattern, from simple plaincloth to gauze worked with silver and gold—formed the most valuable portion of their cargoes.[19]

Passing on the silks of China to the New World became the chief occupation of the Spaniards in the Philippines, and it formed the basis of the colony's economic life for some two hundred years. In fact, the Governors in Manila considered this activity so overwhelmingly important that they did not bother to exploit or develop any of natural resources of the islands, until the latter half of the 18th century. Meanwhile, Manila constituted little more than a way-station between China and Mexico, while nearly all its inhabitants—from religious and lay officials to poor widows and orphans—had some stake in the cargoes of the galleons.[20]

During the first fifty years of the trade (1572-1622), the Chinese silks were brought to Manila by junk from coastal towns in Fukien Province, across the China Sea: notably from Hai-têng, the port for Chang-chou, which the Spanish knew as Chincheo.[21] When Dutch raids on shipping, and political troubles in China, interrupted this commerce, between 1622 and 1662, silks from Manila

were largely provided by ships from the Portuguese colony at Macao, bringing products of Canton.[22] After 1670, Canton itself became the chief supplier; although, for a while, some junks came from Amoy in Fukien, near the original source, and a few came from as far as Ningpo in Chekiang.[23] Beginning in 1692, the silks brought to Manila were largely those that the Chinese had manufactured expressly for foreign taste and were no longer typical products of China.[24] Then, after 1720, most of the trade in these European-style fabrics was taken over by ships of other countries which had direct access to Canton.[25] In other words, the height of the Manila Silk Trade, and the great period for native Chinese silks was the hundred years from 1590 to 1690, spanning the greater part of the 17th century.

Theoretically, Mexico—or "New Spain," as it was called—was intended to be the chief destination for the Chinese silks, and most of the raw product did remain there, to be worked up on Mexican looms. However, a vast proportion of the finished fabrics continued on to other areas in the New World: to towns in Central and South America and out on the Caribbean Islands. This naturally aroused the ire of the Andalusian silk interests in Spain.[26] High officials in Cadiz and Seville constantly tried to restrict—or to block permanently—the galleon trade from Manila. They feared and resented the competition of the Chinese silks with their own home products, throughout Spain's American colonies, and they were especially irate at losing the rich Peruvian market.

Peru was always one of the principal markets for the silks from China. She kept much, but passed on some to the Chilean cities further south. For a short time, the trade from Manila was direct. In the last quarter of the 16th century, two galleons, in successive years, came straight from Manila to Callao, the port for Lima. But a royal order of 1582—to prevent the outward flow of Peruvian silver, and to protect the Spanish silk industry—prohibited any more such voyages, restricting the trans-Pacific trade to New Spain.[27]

In spite of this, Peruvian vessels known as the "Lima Ships," continued to sail up to Acapulco, to meet the Manila Galleons and pick up cargoes of Chinese things. When this trade was also barred by a series of royal decrees—in a further attempt to protect and foster the Andalusian silk industry—the people of Peru, with the connivance of venal officials, resorted to more devious wiles. So the trade in silks continued, much as before, only less openly.[28]

Short interruptions occurred in 1589—following further decrees by Philip II—and in 1604, when all commerce between Mexico and Peru was banned, "inasmuch as the trade in Chinese stuffs [cottons and silks] has increased to excessive proportions in Peru."[29] Then, in 1635, the trade with Mexico was temporarily halted altogether, under a "too-conscientious" Royal Inspector, whose name thenceforth became notorious. But, between these brief periods of stress, Peruvian ships sailed from Callao to Acapulco and back again, as usual.

Toward the end of the 17th century, the captains of the Lima Ships decided to simplify matters by avoiding direct contact with the authorities at Acapulco, so they sailed on to Puerto del Marqués, a few miles north of the main port, and took on their Chinese goods there.[30]

Meanwhile, Peruvian merchants were actually traveling over to Manila, along with some of the Mexican traders, or else sending out agents to represent them, in order to purchase Chinese materials more cheaply, nearer the source.[31]

The point to be stressed here is that the Peruvian colonists paid little attention to the repeated official bans on importing goods from Manila. So, throughout the 17th century, in spite of brief interruptions at reasonably long intervals, the supply of Chinese silks from Manila, via Mexico, to Peru, was continuous. Moreover, this coincided with the high period of the silk trade, when the Chinese were still shipping their native fabrics: not mere copies of foreign goods with European patterns.

Chinese Influences from Old Ming Insignia

Another series of historical events during the 17th century, on the other side of the Pacific, also had considerable bearing on our subject. In 1644, the Ming Dynasty in China was overthrown, and the Manchus from beyond the Great Wall came down to Peking and founded a new dynasty, which they called the Ch'ing (1644-1912). After which, they pressed on to finish their conquest of China.

The Manchus, as they advanced southward, ravaged most of the silk-producing and manufacturing areas in the Yangtze Valley region. Meanwhile, the raids of nominally-loyalist pirates on the coast of Fukien harried the silk-growers there, until finally, in 1662, the Ch'ing Government ordered the whole coastal population to move inland, thus completing the ruin of the Fukien silk-raising areas, which took years to recover.[32]

With the new dynasty, the old official costume of the Ming became obsolete—especially after 1652, when the Manchu Court decreed an entirely new type of dress, based on their own national tradition, for all nobles and officials within China.[33] This put further pressure on the silk-producers to provide what was required by the new regulations, continuing the shortage of silk for export; and it also affected the silk trade with Manila in another way.

For a time, the Spanish in the Philippines simply continued to obtain their silk from Macao and Canton, as they had begun to do during the troubles of the 1620's; but even in those cities, the silk merchants must have been troubled by the lack of production in the northern areas, making it difficult for them to find merchandise. Then, when the Governor requested trade for Manila from the Chinese further north, in 1669, and merchants from the Fukien ports and from Ningpo sought silks to

bring there, they too, must have been hard-pressed to find enough; because their silk-growing areas had not yet recovered, and, harried by heavy orders from Peking, were desperately trying to furnish all that the Court required. In this situation, the Chinese everywhere seem to have turned quite naturally to the old supplies that they still had on hand, exporting even portions of the old Ming dynastic costumes, which had patterns in finely woven silk or rich embroidery.

For example, silk robes worn by Ming nobles and officials, and their wives, for ordinary occasions or for daily use, had had on the breast and back of the upper garment, woven or embroidered squares containing animals or birds. The latter differed according to rank, and the particular species of animal or bird helped to identify the place of the wearer in the official hierarchy.[34] There had been a very sizable production of these insignia—familiarly called "mandarin squares" in English—to supply the thousands of people who were entitled to wear them, and now they were obsolete; as the new government, in its laws of 1652, had introduced new forms and styles for this kind of badge, as well.[35]

Under these circumstances, the colorful Ming badges were now available for silk traders: not only ones as yet unused, but even many that had been worn but were still in good condition. Even the older ones were certainly too handsome to throw away, and many of them were splendidly woven in fine silk tapestry *(ko'ssŭ)*,[36] which made them not only valuable, but also especially pleasing to anyone interested in fine quality weaving. Accordingly, the Chinese doubtless sent some on to Manila, as they did to Japan, where a number of them have since been recovered for American collections.[37]

Another way for the Ming mandarin squares to reach foreign lands was by means of the numerous refugees who fled before the advancing Manchus, finding their way to Japan, to Macao, and probably even to Manila itself. They would have brought some of their possessions with them, to sell as need arose.

By either of these channels—or by both—some of these easily portable badges of rank must have reached Manila, from thence to be carried by the galleons over to Mexico and on to Europe, as well as down to Peru. Because, some years ago, a dealer in New York showed me portions of several Ming animal squares in silk tapestry that had recently turned up in Spain, decorating old church vestments[38]; while the strange white animal on our Peruvian tapestries must have been copied directly from another one.

For the original Chinese beast whose name always eluded Kendrick was the mythical *hsieh-chai*.[39] (We have no equivalent term for it in English.) This creature frequently appeared on the Ming mandarin squares, but was not used elsewhere as a motif on textiles.

The *hsieh-chai*, according to a two-thousand year-old Chinese legend, was a beast who gored the wicked but spared the good. Thus, the Ming adopted it as an appropriate symbol for the insignia of Imperial Censors, Judges, and all kinds of officials connected with the law courts. Also, a great number of lesser office-holders managed to claim remote connections with the courts in order to be able to wear this prestige-bearing animal, in place of the lower-rank bird badges that they should have worn. Therefore, it was one of the most frequently used badges in Ming China, and there must have been great numbers of *hsieh-chai* squares available in China after the fall of the dynasty.

Fig. 5 *Ming Mandarin Square with Hsieh-chai. Silk Tapestry, XVIth Century. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

One of the surviving examples, now in the Philadelphia Art Museum, is shown in Fig. 5.[40] Although the animal on this is not as distinctly rendered as he was on many other badges (there was no standard pattern, so they differed widely), we can still see clearly his resemblance to the white beast on our Peruvian tapestries. Even though the pose is slightly different—because the Peruvian one must have been copied from a standing, rather than a seated *hsieh-chai*, on another square—all the chief details have been faithfully reproduced: the upswept mane and single horn, the staring eyes and tooth-filled jaws, the segmented chest and the lion's paws.

However, the Peruvian designer appears to have misunderstood the tail, representing it as being solid and fanlike, instead of terminating in wisps like the mane. Also, it seems that he failed to understand the flames sweeping upward from the animal's shoulders and flanks: a feature that the Chinese employed to signify magical emanations from a supernatural creature.[41] For, on the Peruvian animal, they are inclined to be thick and heavy, even though they have been appropriately rendered in crimson.

Note one remarkable thing about the Peruvian

depiction of the *hsieh-chai*. On all four tapestries, the designer has included as part of the representation—framed between the tip of the forward shoulder-flame and the top of its tail—horizontal strips of pale blue, white, and yellow, reproducing the sky with cloud bands in the backgrounds of the Chinese *ko'ssŭ* mandarin squares. (The fact that the weaver used yellow between the blue and white cloud bands shows that he must have been imitating one of the Ming squares on which the animal and the clouds were figured against a sky rendered in threads of gold.[42]) He must have thought that this convention had some special significance in relation to the animal itself, so that it would be incomplete without them.

One can easily understand how a Peruvian weaver would have taken a deep professional interest in these Chinese silk-tapestry badges, whether or not he understood the patterns on them. For they were woven in the same basic technique that he was using—double-faced tapestry—but in a far more delicate way which must have seemed to him almost miraculous.

It may have been his admiration for the fine tapestry work on the *hsieh-chai* square that he must have been using for his model—with its fine silk warp on light linen wefts, and an area of rich gold in the background—that inspired him to use silk and silver-gilt threads for the weft of the South Kensington panel, and sections of silk on the others. For almost all of the Spanish Colonial tapestries were done entirely in wool, on cotton warps. However, the idea of using some silk for contrast might also have come from Europe, where it was also occasionally employed.

In any case, the silk that he used on these tapestries was probably some of that raw silk from China, that the Manila Galleon brought over in such quantities. Because, by the mid-17th century, the competition of Chinese silks had so wrecked the Mexican silk-raising industry that it would have had no surplus to send on to Peru. (Silk-raising in Mexico had been initiated under the rule of Cortés, early in the 16th century; but by 1637, more than 14,000 Mexican weavers were employed in weaving the raw silk from China, and the local silk was almost entirely neglected.[43])

Note, also, that stylized peonies, with characteristic three-cusped petals, figure prominently in the background of the Philadelphia badge, as they did on a great number of the mandarin squares from Ming China. In fact, the Metropolitan Museum has a *hsieh-chai square*, in *ko'ssŭ*, that shows not only the peony flowers but also the leaves of this plant, as they appear on these Peruvian tapestries.[44] The Chinese used the peony there because of its auspicious connotations. They knew it as "the flower of riches and honors" *(fu-kuei hua)* and, thinking as they did in terms of sympathetic magic, they supposed that its picture could obtain for the wearer greater wealth and enhanced prestige.[45]

When we turn to the other animal that was singled out by Kendrick and Zimmern as another

Fig. 6 *Early Ch'ing Mandarin Square with "Bear." Embroidered. Late XVIIth Century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

typically Chinese beast, the story is very different. In contrast to the Peruvian *hsieh-chai* which was unquestionably a faithful copy from an actual Chinese model, this second creature seems several times removed from a Chinese original. It seems more like an entirely fanciful creature, perhaps inspired by the *hsieh-chai* itself, or else by a glimpse of some other Chinese monster, not sufficiently well observed or only dimly comprehended. Chinese art and folklore have no animal exactly like this. Here is no *ch'i-lin*, nor *lung-ma*, and it seems futile to try to seek a precise Chinese name for him.

If the designer took the *hsieh-chai* as a prototype, and tried to devise a new creature remotely based upon it, he used different colors, changed the head somewhat, and gave it hoofs instead of paws. However, there is a vague chance that he was loosely copying another Chinese beast and mistook white paws for hoofs.

In the second case, he might have found a model in the highly stylized "bear" of the Ming and Ch'ing insignia, as shown on a slightly later example in Fig. 6. On this square which dates from the Early Ch'ing (late 17th century), the paws are not distinguished by being shown in white, as they generally are. With the usual white paws, the resemblance might be slightly greater, though still not very exact.

However, as a rather convincing argument against the designer's use of a direct model, he has completely misunderstood the flames from the shoulders, which appear here as green or bluish, winglike projections. This also makes us fairly certain that he had no idea of the meaning of this convention on the *hsieh-chai*, and did not realize that they were flames.[46]

All things considered, it would appear that in drawing this second beast, the designer was merely

Fig. 7 *Portion of Ming Mandarin Square with Peacocks. XVIth Century. Museum for the Arts of Decoration, Cooper Union*

improvising "in the Chinese manner." In other words, this is probably a true example of "Chinoiserie."

The Ming silk-tapestry insignia which probably served as models from which were taken the *hsieh-chai,* the peony flowers, and possibly the second large animal as well, cannot have left China before 1644; and probably they would not have been sold before 1652, when the old insignia finally became obsolete.[47] In fact, they may not have been sent out of China before the 1680's; for, until that time, many loyal Chinese clung to the hope that the Ming Dynasty might be revived by one of a series of rebels and pretenders. In any case, these small textiles would have arrived in Peru sometime during the latter part of the 17th century, when Ming costume items were still providing some of the silks for export from China. This would have given time for them to serve as models for details in patterns on these Peruvian tapestries. For it would seem that the latter must have been woven sometime before the end of the 17th century—presumably in its last quarter.

The Ming *ko'ssŭ* mandarin squares were rather small: twelve to fifteen inches wide, and about the same in height. Larger silk tapestries were rarely exported, because they were highly valued in China, due to the difficulty and expense involved in working with such minute threads. Thus it is not likely that the Chinese would have let them fall into the hands of the "Western barbarians," who, they felt, not only would not appreciate them, but also would not value them enough to be willing to pay their full worth.

However, larger hangings in Chinese silk, especially embroideries, were probably fairly common in Peru. In a letter of 1602, the Count of Monterey, Viceroy to New Spain, quoted some merchants from Lima who reported, "The silks of China are much used in the churches of the Indians, which are thus adorned and made decent; while before, because of the inability to buy the silks from Spain, the churches were very bare."[48]

In Ming times—and later—the vast majority of Chinese embroideries were worked on scarlet or crimson backgrounds (the base fabric being satin, buckram, serge, or even flannel). They preferred these shades because red was the *yang* color, according to the Yin-Yang philosophy, and anything aggressively *yang* was highly auspicious.[49] Perhaps it was such embroideries, seen hanging in their churches, or in the vestments of their priests, that persuaded the Indian weavers to use red backgrounds for this set of tapestries, as well as for a number of others made in that period. It certainly was not a heritage from their pre-Columbian past to use such brilliant red for the entire background. Therefore, the background color of these tapestries might possibly be added to our list of Chinese influences.

The Malmö Cope, a Relic of the Manila Trade

One more major category of non-Peruvian and non-European motifs remains to be explained. That comprises the exotic, long-tailed birds: especially the large ones shown in pairs, wheeling around the center on the third and fourth tapestries in our group.—Perhaps, too, the lone bird on the South Kensington panel may have been one member of a similar matched pair, when the whole textile was complete.

Many of the Ming mandarin squares for civil officials, and some closely-related circular medallions in *ko'ssŭ* showed paired birds, but they were more loosely composed (as illustrated in Fig. 7), and none of these showed the birds circling in exactly this way.[50] Furthermore, these are obviously not direct copies of any of the birds on the Chinese insignia, nor of any others in the rich Chinese repertoire of bird symbols.

For several years I had been searching for some Far Eastern precedent for this motif, without being able to find anything more than vague suggestions. Then, suddenly, I happened upon a textile that provided many leads, in the Malmö Museum, in Sweden.

The Malmö Museum is already famous among students of the history of textiles, because it contains evidence of the earliest known weaving and embroidery in silk. This is furnished by a series of clearly visible impressions in the corrosion of a bronze vessel from Shang Dynasty China, some thirty-two hundred years old, left by some textiles that had been wrapped around it before it was buried.[51] (The late Dr. Vivi Sylwan studied these textile imprints, and subsequently published the first detailed information on China's earliest silk-working techniques.[52]) It was while visiting the museum to see this record of Ancient Chinese industry, that I happened upon an old Spanish cope

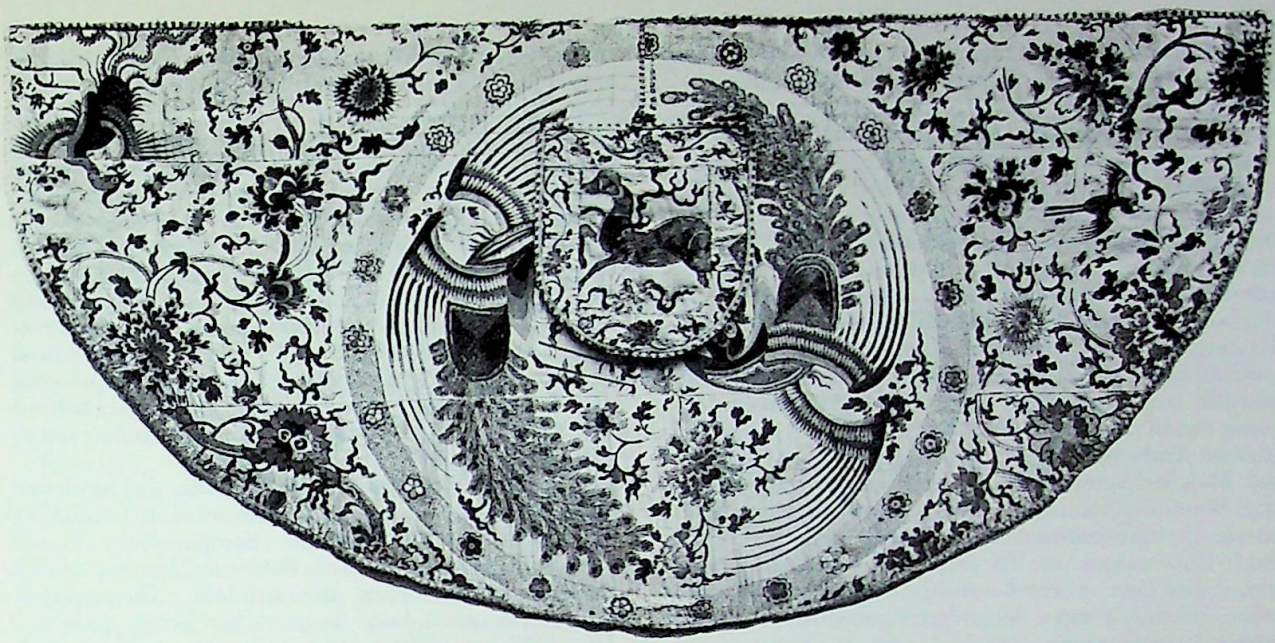

Fig. 8 *Spanish Cope of Chinese Silk from the XVIIth Century. Malmö Museum, Malmö, Sweden*

Fig. 9 *The Principal Medallion from the Spanish Cope. Malmö Museum*

which had been made from a Chinese embroidery on white satin. (See Fig. 8.)

The Spanish in Manila, during the mid-17th century, had a special fondness for Chinese silks. We are informed of this by a statement of the Spanish Jesuit, Diego de Bobadilla, who was writing to report conditions in the Philippines during the 1640's. After listing the kinds of silks being brought to Manila from China, he concluded by saying, "Among all the silk stuffs brought by the Chinese, none is more esteemed than the white—the snow is not whiter—and there is no silk stuff in Europe than can approach it."[53]

Fig. 10 *The Hood from the Spanish Cope. Malmö Museum*

Although he was discussing the China-Manila silk trade in general, he had just finished mentioning that the Portuguese of Macao came to Manila every year with two or three ships bringing silks; and it is likely that any embroidery on white satin would have had to have come from Canton.

In most of the rest of China, white was virtually taboo for large embroideries and hangings, due to its association with funerals and mourning, and—as mentioned above—embroideries were usually done on backgrounds of red, the Happiness color. In Canton, however, the embroiderers seem to have worked for a very long time on white satin.—Possibly the tropical climate made the use of a cooler shade more desirable; or perhaps the large population of Arabs and Persians who lived there, during the Middle Ages, had introduced a fondness for it. Moreover, it seems quite obvious that this particular embroidery was originally made in China for a Chinese patron. Its pattern is purely Chinese, and it has been worked according to strict Chinese taste. If so, it must have been commissioned by someone in Canton.

It is equally clear that the embroidery was not originally made for a priest's cope. For one can see at a glance that the garment has been cut from a much larger embroidered fabric, intended for something else—perhaps a wall-hanging, or a huge bedspread.

The original piece must have been exceedingly large, because the bold medallion that forms the principal decoration at the center of the vestment (Fig. 9) is too big in proportion to the garment as a whole, and yet, it was apparently not the focal point of the original but only a subordinate unit.

It would seem that the central motif of the original fabric must have consisted of a cluster of several of the mythical Chinese birds known as the *fêng-huang*—often called "phoenix" in English.[54] One of these appears (upside down) in the upper left corner of the cope, within an elaborate border of wish-granting symbols *(ju-i)* presented in outline. The small section of this border shown here hints at a much larger enclosure, framing an intricate device that probably consisted of a group of at least five such birds.—The number five was especially associated with the *fêng-huang:* as sacred and auspicious, mythical birds, they were described by Chinese classical writers as being composed of the most splendid and flamboyant qualities of five other birds, and they were often depicted in fives.[55]

Even if we did not have a portion of the original border (cut up to form the *clipeus* or "hood" at the back of the cope) to indicate that the plan as a whole must have been designed on a far grander scale, the presence of the *fêng-huang* as part of another motif would have informed us that the latter had once constituted the principal pattern and focus of interest. Because, since this is a sacred bird, a traditional Chinese designer would have avoided placing it in a subordinate position in relation to any other—even a peacock.

Further evidence of the vast size of the original embroidery is provided by the hood of the cope. (See Fig. 10.) This not only has an outer frame or edging made from parts that were cut off the main fabric and reassembled to fill out the required shape; but also, the animal that provides its chief ornament apparently came from a broad lower border depicting a procession of fabulous animals, together with a set of lucky symbols known as the "Eight Jewels" *(pa pao)*.[56] One of these lucky symbols—a golden swastika tied with a ribbon—occupies the space below the body of the animal itself; while part of another, with its accompanying ribbon, is visible in the edging at the right, behind the animal. (The latter was a rectangular jewel, called a *fang shêng*.)

It appears that the pieces that make up the frame of the hood must have been taken from a smaller and more delicate *rinceau*, composed of flower sprays, that once formed the outer border of the original fabric below the animals. The animals themselves must have been rather large, to judge from the one that remains, in the center of the hood; for this one had to be drastically cut down to fit the space. They were probably confined to horizontal panels at the top and bottom of the composition—following a common Ming convention.[57] Presumably, the floral border continued up the outer edge of the hanging, along each side, to form a connecting link between the two animal panels. If this was originally a wall- or door-hanging, it would have had a short valance extending down a few inches from the top; but if it lacked this, having been made for something else, the floral border may also have been carried across the top, to complete the enclosure.

The animal that provides the main decoration for the hood deserves some mention in its own right. It may sound strange to say that this represents the Chinese conception of the rhinoceros (which they called *hsi-niu*), but that is so. The wild rhinoceros had once roamed widely over China until it had finally been exterminated or driven away—even from the jungles of southern Yünnan, where it long survived. So, in recent centuries, it was only found in the lands beyond China's frontiers: notably in Indo-China and Assam. After the animal had disappeared from China, people there continued to value its horn, but they had only the most fantastic ideas about the animal that wore it.[58]

The horn of the rhinoceros was valued extremely highly in China, because of local beliefs in its magic properties—such as the ability to detect poison—and it formed an important article for import in the trade and tribute from the southern lands.[59] The powers ascribed to the horn made it so expensive that it was rated among the "Eight Precious Things," and this, in turn, caused the animal itself to be even more revered, as magical and auspicious.

As we can see here, the Chinese thought of it as a lightly-built deer-like creature with a large horn

at the back of its head, curling forward at the tip. It usually has a rather long, thin tail, and, since by Ming times it had become a semi-mythical creature, the Ming artists usually gave it the symbolic flame wisps, twisting skyward from its shoulders and flanks.

If the "rhinoceros" had not been rendered here in solid color (laid gold thread), it would be depicted as a yellowish beast, with spots of deeper hue scattered over its body. As such it figured on the Ming mandarin squares for military officers of the eighth rank.[60] Possibly the Peruvians saw it on one of these, because the Pelican Tapestry contains two sets of spotted animals with single horns that seem to recall this.

It might seem odd that the Spaniards should have used a magical Chinese beast as the most prominent decoration on a sacred vestment, where they would generally have placed a significant Christian symbol. However, they quite probably imagined that the prancing golden creature, with its soaring flames, was a young stag running through fire. If so, they may have deliberately employed it, symbolically, to recall the moving words that open the Forty-second Psalm, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God."

This was a favorite passage of the great Spanish mystics. St. Teresa of Avila said in her autobiography that she often thought of it, and it was also quoted by her younger colleague, St. John of the Cross.[61]

On examining the actual embroidery on the cope, we find that the parts that had been worked in dark brown or black silk—such as the main stems, and the branches connecting the principal flowers—have been almost entirely eaten away by the acids in their dyes. This may provide a further clue to the age of the original work. The Chinese—like the ancient Romans—used oak galls and acorn cups to make their dark dyes.[62] The latter are often very effective in imparting rich, sombre tones, but the action of the tannic acid together with the mordant in these dyes will ultimately destroy the fine threads. Unless the dye solutions are unusually strong, it generally requires some three hundred years to accomplish the degree of erosion we find here; which again would take this embroidery back to the 17th century.

Since the loose composition, the typical Ming motives, and the aging dyes, as well as the methods of embroidery (mostly surface satin stitch), all suggest a Ming date, and considering the Spanish fondness for white silk in the 1640's, this embroidery may have come to Manila in the closing years of the Ming Dynasty. At that time, the only way it could have been carried on to Spain was by way of the New World, since the Spanish did not have a more direct access to the Orient before the end of the 18th century.

It seems extremely doubtful that this particular textile could have found its way down to Peru before completing the journey to Spain; unless it once belonged to a priest in Manila who was transferred to Peru on his way back to Spain—which would be most unlikely. But, perhaps other portions of the original large piece, decorated in the same way—or a very similar hanging—may have found their way to Colonial Peru to inspire our tapestry designer, because the cope's pattern contains several significant elements of decoration also found in his tapestries.

We have on the Boston example, and on the smaller piece from the Textile Museum, two wheeling birds, deployed around a central point—although that focus is marked by a large flower, in a rather too-obvious way, which a Chinese designer would usually have avoided. These pairs of birds have crests which (though different in each case) seem to be misunderstandings of the peacock's feathered crest; they have rooster's wattles that appear to be a misunderstanding of the different colored patches below a peacock's chin; and their bodies are rendered in an odd scaly fashion, as though trying to copy—without really understanding—the Chinese convention for the small, overlapping feathers on a peacock's back. Still more interesting are the tail plumes, each of which ends in an eye, like the eye on a peacock's plume, but is otherwise unique to these particular stylized birds. It would seem that the Peruvian designer was trying to reproduce the form of the peacock—a bird he had never actually seen in nature—which continued to elude him.[63]

He seems to have tried again on the large bird in the center of the South Kensington panel, once more attempting to render a peacock. This time, he simplified the crest, omitted the wattles, and for the tail simply presented a fan made of two layers of peacock plumes. In each case, he was not directly copying, but rather, attempting to reproduce an alien motif that he had once seen, perhaps from a distance.

Note that the pair of peacocks on the Malmö cope are enclosed in a circular frame, on which evenly spaced flowers are separated by another motif—an intricate key-fret made of interlocking swastikas, couched in gold. As though the Indian designer might have seen this pattern, or a close counterpart of it, he enclosed the paired birds on the fourth tapestry in an unnecessary circle; while the pair on the Boston hanging he enclosed with a wider square frame, which has stylized flowers separated by other motifs, in a rough approximation of the Malmö pattern, which is echoed again in the outer border.

Another somewhat similar item is the long-tailed oriole flying outward (upside down) to the right of the center medallion of the cope, which suggests the long-tailed flying birds (in pairs) on the South Kensington panel and the Pelican hanging, which Kendrick once described as "the birds swiftly moving forward arrow-like."[64]

Whether or not it actually had anything to do with influencing the Peruvian designer of these tapestries, the pattern on the Malmö cope is most

interesting as an example of the kind of thing that was coming into the Spanish world from far-off China, to inspire artists in other lands.

Other Motives, and the Question of Significance

Possibly some of the other birds, in heraldic pose, with fan-like tails, also had remote Chinese inspiration. But they are so far removed from the source that no obvious prototypes suggest themselves. At most, we could say that they seem to have been designed in a spirit of Chinoiserie. The same might be said of some of the lesser animals: with one exception, that may represent a more direct borrowing.

The small animal in question is the one that somewhat resembles a rabbit, though it has a slightly longer tail. Mrs. Zimmern identified this as the Andean *viscacha*. She may have been right; but it does not bear much resemblance to that engaging little creature as seen in North American zoos. Furthermore, this is exactly the conventional Chinese way of representing a squirrel; and a squirrel-and-grapevine design (probably a misunderstanding of lion-and-grape motives from an earlier period[65]) was a very popular theme in the Ming and Early Ch'ing Dynasties, in carvings and paintings, and especially on folk embroideries. It was so very common in Chinese decoration, that it would be surprising if some representations of it had not found their way to South America on things that were imported from China. Once seen, the amusingly active little animals would have certainly appealed to the Peruvians' sense of humor, and might therefore have found their way into these patterns.

This suggestion may sound far-fetched; but the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has a Colonial Peruvian tapestry of approximately this period, with a wide border showing vines, up which are scampering these same little creatures.[66] —Although the artist depicted grapevines with the proper leaves and tendrils, he misunderstood the fruits, and replaced the bunches of grapes by stylized pomegranates.[67] However, the same museum has another tapestry from Colonial Peru with an inner border portraying complete grapevines, in which two of these small animals are shown, along with some birds.[68]

In Old China, one would never have found the squirrel represented without grapes or grapevine, whereas on these Peruvian tapestries the little animal is often shown independently. However, this is not a sufficient argument to disprove a possible connection. One would scarcely expect a Peruvian designer or weaver always to be accurate and consistent in copying foreign symbols. To him they were not even symbols: merely exotic motifs for decoration.

Probably he felt the same way about most of the symbolic devices he borrowed from European tradition: the crowned lions from Spanish heraldry, the gentle, bowing unicorns, the white hunting dogs with jeweled collars, and the mermaids playing lutes.[69] Probably even the green parrots, the long-tailed monkeys, and the llamas or vicuñas (in the borders of the Boston tapestry), which he took from his own surroundings, had no special meaning for him, but were introduced for sheer decoration.

Doubtless for his Spanish Colonial patrons, too, even the majority of the European motifs—used here outside their proper contexts—were purely ornamental. The only element that would have had any real significance for them was "the Pelican in her piety," feeding her young with blood from her self-torn breast (shown in detail on the cover); for this symbol of Christ's Sacrifice and the Eucharist was familiar throughout the Spanish world. —Note, however, that this conventional European representation of the "pelican" is no more true to nature than the Chinese "rhinoceros" on the Malmö cope.[70]

To anyone familiar with Chinese Art, in which every slightest detail usually carries a symbolic connotation, the prodigious displays of meaningless decoration on these patterns would suggest a vast emptiness. But Beauty has its own justification, and these four Colonial Peruvian tapestries are certainly beautiful. That is all that mattered to the people who made them, and to those for whom they were made. And that is probably the only thing that interests most present-day viewers, since the Modern World no longer expects Art to be meaningful, in any way.

Final Remarks

It so often happens that one breakthrough in research only leads on to new problems for investigation. If we have had some small success in identifying precisely a few of the Chinese-inspired elements in Colonial Peruvian tapestries—through evidence from Ming mandarin squares in our museums and the Spanish cope in Sweden—this only emphasizes the necessity for studying in Peruvian, Mexican, and Spanish church treasuries and private collections, to seek further examples of rare Ming textiles from the Manila trade, or still other local fabrics inspired by Chinese influences.

However, if some searcher should have the good fortune to discover any such textiles, it is essential that these should not be greedily purchased and brought out, to add to collections in another land. They would better be left where they are—at least long enough to determine all the circumstances of their coming to that place. The situation is analogous to the two kinds of field archaeology: the old-fashioned method that was little more than treasure-hunting, in contrast to the modern scientific study of the finds as first located, with the usual result that they remain in the museums of the area in which they were found. —Our present need is, not so much for wider acquisitions, but rather for more detailed information to help us to understand and appreciate more fully what we already possess in our well-stocked museums and private collections.

NOTES

[1] The chief references on this subject are: T. A. Joyce, "A Peruvian Tapestry," *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XXIII (June, 1913), pp. 146-150; A. F. Kendrick, "A Peruvian Tapestry," *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XLVII (December, 1925), pp. 292-297; A. van de Put and A. F. Kendrick, "A Peruvian Tapestry and Some Spanish Weavings," *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LIII (July, 1928), pp. 24-30; P. A. Means, *A Study of Peruvian Textiles*, Boston, 1932; Adèle C. Weibel, "Creolerie, A Peruvian Tapestry of the Spanish-Colonial Period," *The Art Quarterly*, Vol. II (Summer, 1939), pp. 197-206; and Nathalie H. Zimmern, "The Tapestries of Colonial Peru," *Brooklyn Museum Journal* 1943-44, pp. 27-48, followed by a long bibliography. See also Pál Kelemen, "Preliminary Study of Spanish Colonial Textiles," Textile Museum *Workshop Notes*, Paper No. 23, 1961, pp. 1-4.

[2] Kendrick, 1925, p. 292.

[3] Joyce, 1913.

[4] Kendrick, 1925.

[5] V. & A., no. 933-1901; 5′ 7″ x 2′ 11″. This is illustrated in color in *ibid.*, plate 1, facing p. 292.

[6] T.M., no. 91.504; 5′ 3″ x 5′ 7″. This is illustrated in color in Gaston Migeon, *La Collection Kélékian: étoffes et tapis*, Paris, n.d., Vol. I, plate 14.

[7] BMFA, no. 11.1264: 8′ 1¼″ x 6′ 10″.

[8] T.M., no. 91.405-A; 5′ 7″ x 1′ 9½″.

[9] Mrs. Zimmern, probably not wishing to dispute a Boston Museum dating of "18th century," agreed with this, "on the basis of the sophisticated motives, the regular and crowded spacing." Actually, its pattern is very similar to the others in the group, and must have been made by the same maker. No doubt the fourth in this series would have appeared just as "sophisticated," "regular," and "crowded," if it were still complete. Boston now calls this "17th or 18th century"; but there seems no valid reason not to date it from the late 17th, along with the rest.

As Mrs. Zimmern pointed out (p. 31): "unfortunately, we still have no way of telling who actually designed and made them, nor do we have any clue to the factory, or even the place of manufacture."

[10] Victoria and Albert Museum: *Brief Guide to the Peruvian Textiles*, London, 1926, p. 37. Mrs. Zimmern, in an attempt to reconcile Kendrick's conflicting statements, called it "the mythical horned lion *(ch'i-lin)*." In the first place, the Chinese *ch'i-lin*, after the 14th century, had two antlers, so it was not a unicorn; secondly, the *ch'i-lin* was represented as a blue, scaly creature, with hoofs, having nothing to do with a lion; and thirdly, it had absolutely no resemblance to the white animal here, which is more precisely identified in the text, below.

[11] The question of this creature's identity will be discussed later.

[12] Reference in note 1. By including garments, Mrs. Zimmern dated the beginning of the post-Columbian work in tapestry-weaving to the second half of the 16th century, and she placed some hangings in the 18th.

[13] Zimmern, p. 28. She did not attempt to reveiw the specimens in the collections of Peru and neighboring countries, which should provide a fertile field for further research on this subject.

[14] A series of Papal decrees (from 1452 to 1514), the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), and the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529), had divided the world between Portugal and Spain, barring the Eastern route to Spain. (If the terms of the agreements had been strictly followed, Spain should not have been in the Philippines at all.)

[15] The principal sources for information on the silk trade via Manila to Mexico and Peru, are found in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1903-1909, in 55 volumes. Here are presented most of the pertinent original Spanish documents, translated into English. Some of the chief Chinese sources are summarized in B. Laufer, "The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. L (1907), pp. 248-284. A well-written summary of the trade appears in W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 1939, reissued in 1959, as a Dutton Paperback.

[16] Schurz, p. 24.

[17] The quantity of silk carried on the galleon was increased by careful packing and overloading. See B. & R., Vol. XLIV, p. 255, and Schurz, p. 257.

[18] Schurz, p. 27.

[19] See Antonio de Morga, *History of the Philippine Islands*, translated by Blair and Robertson, Cleveland, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 178-179.

[20] Among the chief investors in the galleon trade were the rich charitable foundations *(obras pias)* dedicated to helping the poor. See Schurz, pp. 32, 167-168, etc.

[21] Laufer emphasizes that the trade between the ports of Fukien and the Philippine Islands was being carried on regularly as early as the 13th century, and that it had been interrupted by the Spanish, who drove out a great number of Chinese resident-traders when they first arrived (*op. cit.*, p. 252 ff). Incidentially, he misnames Hai-têng as Hai-ch'êng (*ibid.*, p. 277).

See also George Phillips, "Two Mediaeval Fuh-kien Trading Ports," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. II (1896), p. 457. Throughout, he wrongly identifies the Hai-têng area with the mediaeval Zayton (from whence comes our word satin). The real Zayton was Ch'üan-chou, another port slightly further north.

[22] See Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-461. See also the letter of Don Fernando de Silva to Philip IV in 1626, B. & R., Vol. XXII, p. 97; and the report of 1636 in *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 121; as well as the account of Diego de Bobadilla, S.J., in *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 306.

[23] See B. & R., Vol. XLII, p. 118.

[24] *ibid.*, Vol. XLV, p. 64.

[25] *ibid.*, pp. 38-39, 70-71.

[26] *ibid.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 25; Vol. XLV, p. 62, etc., and Schurz, p. 44, etc.

[27] Schurz, pp. 365-366.

[28] *ibid.*, pp. 367, 370.

[29] *ibid.*, p. 367.

[30] *ibid.*, p. 370.

[31] *ibid.*, p. 363. A law was directed against colonists from Spanish America visiting Manila, in 1604; but it apparently had little effect.

[32] See K. S. Latourette, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*, New York, 1957, p. 293.

[33] The actual laws are recorded in the *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien*, and its supplements. See S. Cammann, "The Development of the Mandarin Square," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. VIII (August, 1944), pp. 79-81, ff.

[34] See *ibid.*, pp. 76-77, and S. Cammann, "Chinese Mandarin Squares," *Bulletin of the University Museum*, Philadelphia, Vol. XVII, no. 3 (June, 1953), table on p. 44.

[35] "Chinese Mandarin Squares," p. 10, ff.

[36] This technique is fully discussed in S. Cammann, "Notes on the Origin of Chinese *Ko'ssŭ* Tapestry," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XI (1948), pp. 90-110.

[37] Some of the Ming *ko'ssŭ* insignia which were recovered in Japan are in the Cooper Union Museum; see S. Cammann, "Notes on the Development of Mandarin Squares —Some Newly Discovered Ming Textiles," *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, Vol. XXVI, no. 1 (1942), p. 4, ff.

[38] These finds in Spain were first reported in "Chinese Mandarin Squares," p. 32.

[39] It is difficult to render phonetically in English the name *hsieh-chai*; it sounds something like "share jie."

[40] Previously published in "Chinese Mandarin Squares," Fig. 32, this was collected in Peking by Dr. Carl Schuster.

[41] The flame convention seems to have developed from Chinese tradition for picturing the dragon. It was also carried during the Mongol Dynasty to the Near East,

where it is sometimes found on depictions of the *hsieh-chai* itself, especially in illuminated borders of miniature paintings. Several examples of animals with flames are shown on a Mughal carpet in the Widener Collection of the National Gallery of Art: see Richard Ettinghausen, *Studies in Muslim Iconography I, The Unicorn*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, Vol. I, no. 3 (Washington, 1950), plate 21.

[42] The Metropolitan Museum has a *hsieh-chai* square with a gold background. See "Notes on the Development of Mandarin Squares," Fig. 3, or "The Development of the Mandarin Square," Fig. 4, a.

[43] See the Memorial of Grau y Monfalcon, in B. & R., Vol. XXIII, p. 199.

[44] See reference in note 42, above.

[45] For the peony and other Chinese symbolic flowers, see S. Cammann, "Types of Symbols in Chinese Art," in *Studies in Chinese Thought*, edited by A. F. Wright, Chicago, 1953, p. 218.

[46] In the Near East, also, the *hsieh-chai's* flames were sometimes misunderstood as wings, see Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, plates 1 and 2.

[47] In the uncertain conditions during the first eight years of Manchu rule, before they had fully organized their new empire, Ming robes and insignia were still being worn by some officials.

[48] B. & R., Vol. XII, p. 64.

[49] For a brief history of Chinese embroidery techniques, see S. Cammann, "Embroidery Techniques in Old China," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, Vol. XVI (1962), pp. 16-39.

[50] One occasionally finds a near approach to the strictly balanced composition, as on the square in the portrait of the Ming official in "Development of the Mandarin Square," Fig. 1, a, but even here, the two birds do not hold exactly the same pose. A certain sense of gravity seemed to require that the lower bird on the squares should always be flying with its stomach toward the ground.

[51] Mentioned in "Embroidery Techniques in Old China," p. 16.

[52] See V. Sylwan, "Silk from the Yin Dynasty," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, Vol. 9 (1937), pp. 119-126. The original report appeared in the *Malmö Museum Årsberättelse*, 1935, pp. 19-21.

[53] B. & R., Vol. XXIX, p. 307.

[54] The *fêng-huang* also entered Islamic Art during the period of Mongol rule, as illustrated in Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, plates 34-37. In the Near East, it was identified with the traditional *Simurgh*; see S. Cammann, "Ancient Symbols in Modern Afghanistan," *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. II (1957), p. 32.

[55] See "Types of Symbols in Chinese Art," p. 208.

[56] Sets of eight were taken from a much larger group of symbols, which could be interchanged; see "Types of Symbols in Chinese Art," p. 214.

[57] For the upper part of a typical hanging of the Ming period, re-used as a Christian altar frontal, see S. Cammann, "A Rare Ming Textile in Sweden," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society*, Vol. XVII (1963), pp. 33-37. This one came to Sweden overland, via Russia.

[58] See B. Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, Part I, "History of the Rhinoceros" (Field Museum Anthropological Series, Vol. XIII, no. 2), Chicago, 1914, for a vast compendium of Chinese rhinoceros lore.

[59] See Soame Jenyns, "The Chinese Rhinoceros and Chinese Carvings in Rhinoceros Horn," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics Society*, 1954-55 (London, 1957), pp. 31-58. In plates 15 and 16, he shows pictures of Chinese bronzes cast at the time when the rhinoceros was still a relatively common animal in China, and these representations are surprisingly like the animal in nature, in marked contrast to the later depictions. For an intermediate version, from Mediaeval China, see Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, plate 12.

[60] For part of such a square in *ko'ssŭ*, see "The Development of the Mandarin Square," Fig. 11 a. The original piece probably had a pair of these animals.

[61] See Santa Teresa de Jesus, *Obras Completas*, edited by Luis Santullano, Madrid, 1957, p. 179; and E. A. Peers, *The Complete Works of St. John of the Cross*, Vol. III, London, 1935, p. 70. Incidentally, in the Vulgate, this is Psalm 41.

[62] For this, and other Chinese dyes, see S. Cammann, *China's Dragon Robes*, New York, 1952, pp. 112-115. The Roman use of gall nuts is mentioned in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, Book XVI, viii; see the translation by H. Rackham, Vol. IV, p. 405.

[63] Another way of representing the peacock—perhaps following a European stylization—is illustrated in the borders of another Peruvian tapestry, in the Brooklyn Museum (B.M., no. 40.134). See Zimmern, *op. cit.*, plate 12.

[64] Kendrick, 1925, p. 297.

[65] See S. Cammann, "The Lion and Grape Patterns on Chinese Bronze Mirrors," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XVI (1953), pp. 265-291; esp. note 57, on p. 283.

[66] BMFA, no. 04.123, illustrated in P. A. Means, *Study of Peruvian Textiles*, Fig. 89.

[67] Both grapes and pomegranates were foreign to Peru.

[68] BMFA, no. 157; *ibid.*, Fig. 85.

[69] Although these mermaids are shown only on the South Kensington panel, within this particular group, they often figure on other Colonial Peruvian tapestries from this period. *c.f.* Zimmern, Plate 6.

[70] If some Westerner should further complain that the Old Chinese evaluation of the rhinoceros' horn was just as far-fetched as the representation of the animal on the Malmö cope, a modern Chinese might counter by recalling that the Europeans once had similar beliefs about the horn of a non-existent unicorn, and furthermore, that the pelican's actual method of feeding its young has no resemblance to the way depicted here.

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